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DONALD HAASE

Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship: A Critical Survey and Bibliography

In 1970, Alison Lurie fueled feminist scholarship on fairy tales by publishing "Fairy Tale Liberation" in the *New York Review of Books*. That article and its 1971 sequel, "Witches and Fairies," argued that folktales and fairy tales can advance the cause of women's liberation because they depict strong females. Together, Lurie's two articles took the position that strong female characters could be found not only among the classic fairy tales, but also among the much larger and more representative corpus of lesser-known tales. The presence of these competent, resourceful, and powerful female characters, Lurie concluded, ought to make fairy tales "one of the few sorts of classic children's literature of which a radical feminist would approve."[1]

Lurie's position provoked Marcia R. Lieberman, who published in 1972 a forceful rebuttal entitled " 'Some Day My Prince Will Come': Female Acculturation through the Fairy Tale." Lieberman was neither sympathetic to Lurie's main argument that fairy tales portrayed strong female characters, nor receptive to her important qualification that liberating stories had been obscured by males who dominated the selection, editing, and publication of fairy tales. According to Lieberman, this latter argument was "beside the point" because as a feminist scholar she was specifically concerned with the contemporary process of female acculturation: "Only the best-known stories, those that everyone has read or heard, indeed, those that Disney has popularized, have affected masses of children in our culture. Cinderella, the Sleeping Beauty, and Snow White are mythic figures who have replaced the old Greek and Norse gods, goddesses, and heroes for most children. The 'folk tales recorded in the field by scholars,' to

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which Ms. Lurie refers, or even Andrew Lang's later collections, are so relatively unknown that they cannot seriously be considered in a study of the meaning of fairy tales to women" (383–84).

In the catalytic exchange between Lurie and Lieberman during the early 1970s, we witness simultaneously the inchoate discourse of early feminist fairy-tale research and the advent of modern fairy-tale studies, with its emphases on the genre's sociopolitical and sociohistorical contexts. Already anticipated in their terms of debate are nascent questions and critical problems that would, over the next thirty years, constitute the agenda of much fairy-tale research. To come to grips with the arguments and evidence advanced by Lurie and Lieberman, gender-based scholarship would have to explore not simply the fairy-tale's content, but also the process of canonization and the institutional control of the classical fairy-tale collections. Questions about canonization and the male-dominated fairy-tale tradition would lead to the discovery and recovery of alternative fairy-tale narratives and to the identification of the woman's voice in fairy-tale production, from the earliest documented references to the present. The initial and rather simplistic debate over the effects of fairy tales on "the masses of children in our culture" and "the meaning of fairy tales to women" would require more detailed study of the relationship between the process of socialization and the development of the classical fairy tale, as well as more convincingly documented studies of the fairy tale's reception by children and adults. Ultimately, there would be the development of an ever more nuanced view of the relationship between gender and fairy tale, a view that avoids insupportable generalizations about the genre as a whole and does justice to the complexity and diversity of the fairy-tale corpus and the responses it elicits.

So what began essentially as a debate over the value of fairy tales based on their representation of females would become a more multifaceted discussion of the genre's history and a more nuanced analysis of its production and reception, as this special issue of *Marvels & Tales* demonstrates. In this introductory essay, I want (1) to identify significant developments in feminist fairy-tale scholarship in order to chart the progress that has been made, (2) to provide a context for the research presented in the essays and translations that follow, and (3) to suggest some directions for further research.[2]

Gender and Socialization

Rooted in sociocultural critique and in the controversy "about what is biologically determined and what is learned" (Lieberman 394), early feminist criticism of fairy tales, as seen in the Lurie-Lieberman debate, was principally concerned with the genre's representation of females and the effects of these representations on the gender identity and behavior of children in particular. As Lieberman

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concluded, "We must consider the possibility that the classical attributes of 'femininity' found in these stories are in fact imprinted in children and reinforced by the stories themselves. Analyses of the influence of the most popular children's literature may give us an insight into some of the origins of psycho-sexual identity" (395). There was—and still is—widespread agreement with Lieberman's argument that fairy tales "have been made the repositories of the dreams, hopes, and fantasies of generations of girls" and that "[m]illions of women must surely have formed their psycho-sexual self-concepts, and their ideas of what they could or could not accomplish, what sort of behavior would be rewarded, and of the nature of reward itself, in part from their favorite fairy tales" (385).

Throughout the 1970s, these ideas were repeated in writings by American feminists, which did not always analyze fairy tales in depth, but more frequently utilized them simply as evidence to demonstrate the sociocultural myths and mechanisms that oppress women.[3] In 1974, for example, Andrea Dworkin's *Woman Hating* echoed Lieberman's thesis by asserting that fairy tales shape our cultural values and understanding of gender roles by invariably depicting women as wicked, beautiful, and passive, while portraying men, in absolute contrast, as good, active, and heroic. Similarly, Susan Brownmiller, in the course of her 1975 book, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape,* offered the tale of "Little Red Riding Hood" as a parable of rape and argued that fairy tales—particularly classic tales like "Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Snow White"—train women to be rape victims (309–10). And in 1978, Mary Daly began the first chapter of *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* by pointing to the fairy tale as a carrier of the toxic patriarchal myths that are used to deceive women: "The child who is fed tales such as *Snow White* is not told that the tale itself is a poisonous apple, and the Wicked Queen (her mother/teacher), having herself been drugged by the same deadly diet throughout her lifetime [. . .], is unaware of her venomous part in the patriarchal plot" (44).

By the end of the decade, both in scholarship and in books intended for mass-market distribution, these oversimplifications of the fairy tale's problematic relationship to social values and the construction of gender identity gave way to somewhat more complex, or at least more ambivalent, approaches. In 1979, Karen E. Rowe reaffirmed the "significance of romantic tales in forming female attitudes toward the self, men, marriage and society." Moreover, Rowe emphasized in particular that the idealized romantic patterns in fairy tales were also evident in mass-market reading materials intended for adult women, including erotic, ladies', and gothic fictions. The fairy tale's romantic paradigms could therefore be viewed as influential not simply in childhood, but also in the lives of adult women, who "internalize romantic patterns from ancient tales" and "continue to tailor their aspirations and capabilities to conform with romantic paradigms" ("Feminism and Fairy Tales" 222).

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Illustration by Barbara Henniger from *Putz! Frauen*, by Claire Bretecher et al. (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1983) n. pag. Illustration © Barbara Henniger. Reproduced with permission.

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However, Rowe also observed that ever since modern feminists had begun to expose and challenge society's "previous mores and those fairy tales which inculcate romantic ideals" (211), modern women had become increasingly conscious of the gap between romantic ideals and the reality that "all men are not princes" (222). Consequently, Rowe's work asserted that fairy tales "no longer provide[d] mythic validations of desirable female behavior [. . . and had] lost their potency because of the widening gap between social practice and romantic idealization" (211). According to Rowe, the result for women was an ambiguity that left them in an unresolved tension between enacting cultural change and adhering to the deceptive ideals of the fairy tale, which still exerted an "awesome imaginative power over the female psyche" (218):

> Today women are caught in a dialectic between the cultural *status quo* and the evolving feminist movement, between a need to preserve values and yet to accommodate changing mores, between romantic fantasies and contemporary realities. The capacity of women to achieve equality and of culture to rejuvenate itself depends, I would suggest, upon the metamorphosis of these tensions into balances, of antagonisms into viable cooperations. But one question remains unresolved: do we have the courageous vision and energy to cultivate a newly fertile ground of psychic and cultural experience from which will grow fairy tales for human beings in the future? (223)

In Rowe's view, the fairy tale—perhaps precisely because of its "awesome imaginative power"—had a role to play in cultivating equality among men and women, but it would have to be a rejuvenated fairy tale fully divested of its idealized romantic fantasies.

Other feminists of the same era had specific ideas about how the fairy tale could be employed "to cultivate a newly fertile ground of psychic and cultural experience." In 1979 the feminist literary scholar Carolyn G. Heilbrun proposed that "myth, tale, and tragedy must be transformed by bold acts of reinterpretation in order to enter the experience of the emerging female self" (150). Citing Rowe's essay, which she knew then as a 1978 Working Paper from the Radcliffe Institute, Heilbrun offered Grimms' fairy tales as an example of cultural texts whose models of male selfhood could be adopted and reinterpreted by women in light of their own search for identity:

> [O]ne feels particularly the importance of not limiting the female imagination to female models. Bettelheim has shown how small boys can use the female model of helplessness in fairy tales to reduce their anxieties and unmentionable fears; similarly, young girls should be able

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> to use male models to enhance their feelings of daring and adventure. To choose only the most obvious example, consider the many Grimm fairy tales employing the theme of the "three brothers." What if the girl could conceive of herself as the youngest of the three? Powerless, scorned, the one from whom least is expected, even by himself, this third brother, because of virtues clearly "feminine"—animal-loving, kind, generous, affectionate, warm to the possibilities of affiliation—this third brother, again and again rejected, nonetheless persists to success with the help of his unlikely friends, and despite the enmity of what, in the person of the two older brothers, might be called the "male" establishment. (147)

Drawing on "The Golden Bird," "The Queen Bee," "The Three Feathers," "The Golden Goose," and "The Water of Life," Heilbrun suggested how the youngest brother's situation is actually "a paradigm of female experience in the male power structure that no woman with aspirations above that of sleeping princess will fail to recognize" (148). Identification with the male hero is possible, Heilbrun argued, once women recognize "that the structures [of the fairy tale] are human, not sexually dictated": "What woman must learn to assume is that she is not confined to the role of the princess; that the hero, who wakens Sleeping Beauty with a kiss, is that part of herself that awakens conventional girlhood to the possibility of life and action" (150).

As if on cue and in the same year, Madonna Kolbenschlag published *Kiss Sleeping Beauty Good-Bye: Breaking the Spell of Feminine Myths and Models.* In an eclectic approach that combined social concerns with psychology and religion, Kolbenschlag discussed fairy tales to expose the feminine myths of Western culture while reasserting the potential the stories have to awaken and liberate women. In other words, she took an approach that reconciled the cultural specificity of fairy tales as "parables of feminine socialization" (3) with the view that the same stories can call "women forth to an 'awakening' and to spiritual maturity" (4). As she notes in her introduction, "Much of what we live by and attribute to nature or destiny is, in reality, a pervasive cultural mythology. Because myths are no less powerful than nature and because they mirror as well as model our existence, I have introduced six familiar fairy tales as heuristic devices for interpreting the experience of women. These tales are parables of what women have become; and at the same time, prophecies of the spiritual metamorphosis to which they are called" (x).

Similarly, Colette Dowling's popular volume of 1981, *The Cinderella Complex,* did not simply indict the fairy tale, but instead suggested how women's psychological and social attitudes are mirrored in the stories. From this perspec-

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tive, a critical understanding of the classical fairy tale as a mirror of the forces limiting women makes it possible to project alternative ways of constructing lives. This had been the goal, too, of Linda Chervin and Mary Neill's *The Woman's Tale: A Journal of Inner Exploration* (1980). By sharing the authors' personal reflections on fairy tales—such as "Rapunzel," "Hansel and Gretel," "Cinderella," "Little Red Riding Hood," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Snow White and Rose Red"—Chervin and Neill hoped to encourage women to reflect on their own responses to the stories and on their inner, or spiritual, journeys. In *Leaving My Father's House* (1992), feminist psychoanalyst Marion Woodman offered a Jungian interpretation of Grimms' "All Fur" and the commentaries of her female patients to demonstrate how women could regain autonomy in a society dominated by men. Despite the diverse orientations of these works—which ranged from the literary to the psychological and sociological, to the philosophical and spiritual—they all encouraged a self-conscious, critical engagement with the classical tales as a means to liberate women to imagine and construct new identities.[4]

Folktale and Fairy-Tale Anthologies

Lurie, of course, had already advanced the idea that fairy tales could "prepare children for women's liberation" (42), and in 1978 Heather Lyons cautioned that critical feminist interpretations should be reconsidered since one could identify extant tales that included strong heroines, stupid men, and the ambiguous treatment of otherwise stereotypical traits such as beauty.[5] These ideas lay behind new collections featuring lesser-known stories with unconventional heroines or better-known tales anthologized in such a way so as to foreground the strength of their female characters. These included Lurie's own collection, *Clever Gretchen and Other Forgotten Folktales* (1980), Rosemary Minard's *Womenfolk and Fairy Tales* (1975), and Ethel Johnston Phelps's two anthologies, *Tatterhood and Other Tales* (1978) and *The Maid of the North: Feminist Folk Tales from around the World* (1981).

These early collections were followed over the next two decades by a second wave of fairy-tale collections emphasizing the breadth and diversity of women in fairy tales. As their titles and subtitles indicate, many of these foregrounded the cultural diversity of women's tales, including Sigrid Früh's *Europäische Frauenmärchen* (*European Fairy Tales about Women,* 2nd ed. 1996; 1st ed. 1985), Ines Köhler-Zülch and Christine Shojaei Kawan's *Schneewittchen hat viele Schwestern: Frauengestalten in europäischen Märchen* (*Snow White Has Many Sisters: Female Characters in European Fairy Tales,* 1988), Suzanne Barchers's *Wise Women: Folk and Fairy Tales from around the World* (1990), Virginia Hamilton's *Her Stories: African American Folktales, Fairy Tales, and True Tales* (1995), A. B. Chinen's *Waking the World: Classic Tales of Women and the Heroic Feminine*

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(1996), and Kathleen Ragan's *Fearless Girls, Wise Women and Beloved Sisters: Heroines in Folktales from around the World* (1998). Despite the common attempt to revive and promote women-centered tales, the editors who collected (and in some cases retold) these tales do not present a uniform image or definition of the fairy-tale heroine. Interested in presenting a variety of European tale variants, folklorists Ines Köhler-Zülch and Christine Shojaei Kawan noted that folk narratives "offer a multicolored spectrum of female characters," who have every chance of being "sly," "lazy," "old," or "strong" (7).[6] Far more mythically inclined, Sigrid Früh, on the other hand, hoped to present "as broad as possible a spectrum of strong, active, and loving women" (195). So Früh privileged tales whose female characters could be classified under distinctly edifying rubrics: "saviors," "the helpful and faithful," "the clever and cunning," "warriors and rulers," and "the fates, the Great Mother, and goddesses." Kathleen Ragan, who gave priority to tales in which "main characters are female and [. . .] worthy of emulation" (xxvi), differentiated her idea of the exemplary heroine from Angela Carter's, whose first collection Ragan described as being based on a "view of women in folktales that includes sexual exploits and victims as well as heroines" (437).

Angela Carter, of course, had no interest in presenting a one-dimensional view of women—let alone heroines without sexuality. Her first folktale collection, published in the US as *The Old Wives' Fairy Tale Book* (1990), took pleasure in highlighting the heroine's multiple identities. "These stories have only one thing in common [. . .]," wrote Carter in her introduction, "they all centre around a female protagonist; be she clever, or brave, or good, or silly, or cruel, or sinister, or awesomely unfortunate, she is centre stage, as large as life [. . .]" (xiii). Moreover, Carter's two folktale collections aimed at reasserting precisely those dimensions of a woman's life—including sexuality—that male editors had suppressed. As Marina Warner explained in the introduction to Carter's second, posthumously published collection, *Strange Things Sometimes Still Happen: Fairy Tales from around the World* (1992), "Angela Carter's partisan feeling for women, which burns in all her work, never led her to any conventional form of feminism; but she continues [in this collection] one of her original and effective strategies, snatching out of the jaws of misogyny itself, 'useful stories' for women. [. . . H]ere she turns topsy-turvy some cautionary folk tales and shakes out the fear and dislike of women they once expressed to create a new set of values, about strong, outspoken, zestful, sexual women who can't be kept down [. . .]" (x).

Anthologies of literary fairy tales by and about women complemented these collections of folktales from the 1980s and 1990s. Some of these drew attention to historically neglected fairy tales penned by women.[7] Others assembled contemporary fairy tales authored by men and women engaged in the cultural

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debate over gender and sexual politics.[8] The most critically provocative of all these anthologies was *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood,* published by Jack Zipes in 1983 (2nd ed. 1993). This anthology presented over thirty literary adaptations of "Little Red Riding Hood" in chronological order, which encouraged an illuminating comparison of variants and an historical analysis of the tale's development. *Trials and Tribulations* contributed significantly to feminist fairy-tale scholarship not only in terms of the conclusions Zipes reached in his critical commentary, but also in terms of the work's organization and methodology, which revealed just how vital the comparison of both oral and literary variants in sociohistorical contexts could be in understanding the fairy tale's relationship to gender and socialization.[9] Zipes's introductory study of the story's history confirmed that "Little Red Riding Hood" not only reflects the civilizing process in Western societies, but also has played a central role in that process by reinforcing the cultural ideology of the middle class. More specifically, he showed that the tale's many adaptations embody a cultural struggle over attitudes towards sexuality and sex roles, and towards male and female power. Furthermore, by showing how Charles Perrault and the Brothers Grimm produced versions of the story that dramatically altered the oral folktale, erasing its positive references to sexuality and female power, Zipes exposed how the classical tale came to be "a male creation and projection" that "reflects men's fear of women's sexuality—and of their own as well" (80, 81).

Editing and the Female Image: Grimms' Fairy Tales

Demystifying the classical fairy tales as tools of socialization by exposing their male bias took a leap forward with research on Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* The impetus originated in Germany in the 1970s, where ideological critics and left-wing pedagogues challenged sentimental views of Grimms' stories by historicizing the tales and criticizing them for their role in promulgating repressive nineteenth-century bourgeois values.[10] At the same time, Heinz Rölleke began publishing his important philological-textual studies and fairy-tale editions that brilliantly illuminated the collecting and editing practices of the Brothers Grimm. In particular, his 1975 edition of the Grimms' tales in manuscript form—the so-called Ölenberg manuscript of 1810—permitted comparison of the Grimms' original transcriptions with their published texts; and in a groundbreaking essay, also from 1975, he set the record straight on the nature of Grimms' oral informants.[11] Specifically, Rölleke helped debunk the persistent myth that the brothers' tales were authentic transcriptions of the German folk tradition by demonstrating in convincing detail not only that the Grimms had relied heavily on literary sources and literate middle-class informants, but also that they had undertaken significant editorial interventions in the texts they selected to publish.

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It was not long before feminist-oriented Grimm scholars—especially in the US—recognized the importance of these findings and built on them to show how the Grimms had revised tales so that they reflected or shaped the sociocultural values of their time. Jack Zipes led the way in 1979–80 with his essay "Who's Afraid of the Brothers Grimm? Socialization and Politi[ci]zation through Fairy Tales." Zipes compared passages from different versions collected and edited by the Grimms to illustrate how they had altered tales to promote patriarchal bourgeois values as part of the socialization process. This research was integrated into Zipes's *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion,* which appeared in 1983 and discussed the Grimms' editing and appropriation of the oral tradition as part of a much larger social history of the fairy tale. In specific sociohistorical contexts Zipes demonstrated how the folktale had been appropriated and reappropriated by European and American writers as a special discourse on sociocultural values, and how that fairy-tale discourse was intended to function in the socialization of children—especially in its modelling of gender-specific identity and behavior.

The pedagogical agenda and editorial history of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were also the starting point for Maria Tatar's studies of male and female characters in Grimms' tales. Published in the mid-1980s, these studies came together in *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales,* which reexamined the perennial topics of fairy-tale sex and violence.[12] Stressing that the examination of "hard facts" like these "calls first for a long, hard look at the genesis and publishing history of *The Nursery and Household Tales*" (xxi), Tatar clarified how the ebb and flow of sex and violence in the collection relate to Grimms' sociocultural attitudes and textual editing. But for Tatar, editorial history served only as a threshold to a broader study of sex and violence, one drawing productively on folklore, structuralism, and judiciously chosen concepts from psychoanalysis. Moreover, although Tatar illuminated the differences between male and female characters by organizing her interpretations of heroes and villains according to their gender, in the final analysis gender functioned primarily as a lens to view sex and violence. To be sure, Tatar certainly considered the construction of gender through the editorial process to be an indicator of how the classic fairy tale was appropriated to serve the purpose of socializing children. However, *The Hard Facts* and Tatar's later book, *Off with Their Heads! Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood,* remain ultimately concerned with what that process tells us not simply about male constructions of the female, but about adult constructions of childhood.

The most detailed study of the effects of the editorial process on gender in Grimms' fairy tales came in the pioneering research of Ruth B. Bottigheimer. In a series of articles from 1980 to 1985, Bottigheimer demonstrated how the Grimms' editorial interventions—including their apparently simple lexical

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revisions—weakened once strong female characters, demonized female power, imposed a male perspective on stories voicing women's discontents, and rendered heroines powerless by depriving them of speech, all in accord with the social values of their time ("The Transformed Queen"; "Tale Spinners"; and "Silenced Women"). Bottigheimer's research on the relationship among gender, social values, and the Grimms' editing led to her important book of 1987, *Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys: The Moral and Social Vision of the* Tales. Here she elucidated Grimms' treatment of gender by closely analyzing the entire corpus of their tales in light of nineteenth-century social trends and the collection's editorial history.

It is important to note, however, that Bottigheimer did not simply replicate Zipes's conclusions or the widespread understanding that the Grimms' had imposed bourgeois values on the folktale. To be sure, there were instances where she found that to be true. However, her attention to the Grimms' sources themselves convinced her that it was not Grimms' editorial revisions alone, or even primarily, that shaped the representations of women in their collection. She found among their stories, in fact, competing views of gender that were inherent in Grimms' sources, as well as "kindred values [that the collection] revived and incorporated from preceding centuries" (168). She made this case even more explicitly in her essay "From Gold to Guilt: The Forces Which Reshaped *Grimms' Tales*," where she took pains to distinguish her view from that of Marxist critics who claim that the Grimms transformed folktales by imposing bourgeois attitudes on the stories (she cites only Zipes). Instead, Bottigheimer argued that the image of women in the tales resulted in part from Wilhelm's increasing reliance on misogynistic folktales from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—not the magic tales of Grimms' bourgeois informants. In other words, she claimed that it was the adopted voice of the folk, not the voice of the bourgeoisie that spoke in such tales: "If [. . .] isolation and silence for heroines creeps inexorably into *Grimms' Tales* [. . .], it is not from bourgeois experience, but is, instead, part and parcel of the restrictive values that emerge from the 'folk' versions of the tales. [. . .] It is the dictates of hard peasant and artisan life that produce domestic tyranny, female silence, and isolation in *Grimms' Tales*" ("From Gold to Guilt" 198).[13]

If the idealization of the folk and folk sources introduced "restrictive values" and negative images of women into Grimms' collection, then the Romantic idealization of women and nature—effected through Grimms' editing—introduced an opposite but equally restrictive stereotype. This is evident in what Renate Steinchen has referred to as Grimms' "representation and polarization of two images of women" (293). Drawing on both sociocultural history and the publishing history of Grimms' collection, Steinchen illustrated how repressive female models were idealized and elevated to mythic images for middle-class

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readers. Steinchen not only critiqued the myth of the idealized female storyteller that the Grimms' had presented in the preface to their collection, she also compared their versions of "Snow White" from four different editions to analyze how Wilhelm Grimm had intervened in the story to shape idealized representations of men, women, nature, and romantic love, which were meant to serve as models for middle-class readers.

In emphasizing the Grimms' bipolar view of women, Steinchen's analysis of Grimms' "Snow White" parallels the influential interpretation offered by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their book *The Madwoman in the Attic* (3–44). Without recourse to the tale's editorial history, Gilbert and Gubar stressed the conflict between the egotistically assertive stepmother and the angelically passive Snow White, and they interpreted this bipolar image of woman as a reflection of the self-destructive roles imposed by patriarchy, which reifies females as powerless aesthetic objects and subverts their creative powers.[14] Gilbert and Gubar's stimulating reading stands on its own, but that is precisely its weakness. Their interpretation lacks the contexts—both sociocultural and textual—that would justify their assertion that the voice of patriarchy is not only present in the story of "Snow White," but also its controlling voice—the voice of the mirror that dominates each woman's sense of self. Steinchen's analysis, informed by both the textual and sociocultural history at work in Grimms' tale, clearly demonstrates the shaping hand of patriarchy behind the representations of both the demonized queen and the idealized daughter, thereby providing a compelling sociohistorical basis for the speculative psychosocial interpretation presented by Gilbert and Gubar.

As in the early feminist treatises cited above, fairy tales are frequently considered out of context as exemplary texts that can be used to construct generalizations and theories. The studies by Zipes, Tatar, Bottigheimer, and Steinchen underline the need for feminist scholars to take both the textual and sociocultural contexts into account when generalizing or theorizing on the basis of fairy tales. Take, for example, Sandra Gilbert's article "Life's Empty Pack: Notes Towards a Literary Daughteronomy," in which she argues that the model of female maturation and duty in patriarchal society is based on father-daughter incest. She focuses principally on George Eliot, Edith Wharton, and Sigmund Freud, but she also introduces Grimms' "All Fur" as a fairy tale that presents the paradigm of father-daughter incest in "its most essential psychic outline" (376).[15] However, Gilbert's close reading relies on a crucial line from the fairy tale that actually depends on a grammatical distinction that is significantly more ambiguous in German than it is in the English translation she uses, and this ambiguity bears directly on the question of incest that she is discussing.[16] Furthermore, a complete understanding of the incest theme in Grimms' "All Fur" depends on knowledge of the tale's textual history and

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the alterations made by Wilhelm Grimm to render it more appropriate for his middle-class and juvenile audience.[17] Read in these contexts, "All Fur" becomes an all the more credible and authoritative illustration of Gilbert's theory, which is otherwise founded on an essentializing psychological understanding of the story.

Heinz Rölleke, in his own essay on women in Grimms' fairy tales, advised feminist readers of Grimms' tales against making generalized claims that were not based on rigorous studies of a tale's textual history ("Die Frau"). Rölleke's approach to the question of gender in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* takes into account the Grimms' attitude toward women,[18] the sources of their tales, and the general representation of women in the collection, all of which tend to mitigate, according to Rölleke, the feminist critique of the stories. Like his other research on the textual provenance and sources of Grimms' collection, Rölleke's essay on women helps to focus attention on the fact that females were among the most important of Grimms' informants and were the source for many of their important tales. Moreover, in identifying these female informants as largely young educated women of the bourgeoisie, Rölleke helped to further demythologize the stereotype of the *Märchenfrau*.

Much later, in 1993, Maureen Thum followed Rölleke's lead by arguing that a discriminating analysis of Grimms' stories in light of their informants gives us a much more complex view of female stereotypes in their collection. Thum argued that although tales contributed by Marie Hassenpflug, Dorothea Wild, and Friedrich Krause depict women with considerable differentiation, stories contributed by Dorothea Viehmann (the Grimms' ideal storyteller) portray positive female characters that resist the expected stereotype. Applying Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia," Thum consequently confirmed the multiplicity of voices—including female voices—in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and underlined, as had Bottigheimer earlier, the relative complexity of Grimms' women.[19]

In terms of feminist fairy-tale scholarship, then, research based on the textual and editorial history of Grimms' tales has had far-reaching consequences. First, it laid bare the inscription of patriarchal values in the classic fairy tale, documented the appropriation of the genre by male editors and collectors, and sharpened our understanding of the complex editorial and cultural processes involved in the representation of women. Secondly, it confirmed the role of fairy tales in the process of socialization by showing how Wilhelm Grimm's representation of women helped construct a culturally specific model of gender-identity. Finally, by renewing attention to Grimms' female informants, it also identified the presence of female voices in the Grimms' collection, revealed the diversity of those voices, and stimulated the search for narratives and characters that resisted the Grimm stereotype.[20]

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Woman's Voice in Fairy Tales

The female voice in the fairy tale had initially been conceived as an historical voice—not that of an individual informant—and recognition of that collective female voice was an opportunity to reassert women's ownership of the genre. In the 1980s, feminists such as Heide Göttner-Abendroth, Sonja Rüttner-Cova, and Gertrud Jungblut reappropriated the genre from its male collectors and editors by looking to the fairy tale for evidence of prehistoric matriarchal myths. Göttner-Abendroth's influential study, *Die Göttin und ihr Heros* (1980), argued that fairy tales reflect the practices and customs of prehistorical societies, which were in her view "primarily matriarchal societies" (134).[21] Accordingly, she analyzed selected tales from Grimms' collection not only to prove that fairy tales contained remnants of a prehistoric matriarchal mythology (thereby using the Grimms' theory that myth antedates the märchen to reclaim the stories from them), but also to show that changes in the matriarchal structure of the fairy tale reflected society's movement towards patriarchy. That the fundamental matriarchal content and narratives of the fairy tale could still be discerned, she argued, was due to the fact that the original myths had not been deformed beyond recognition by patriarchy, but had been protectively camouflaged in order to ensure their transmission during the course of increasing patriarchalization: "In those places where it lived on without disruption—in the lower strata of society and in geographical fringe groups—the old matriarchal world view was therefore passed on in disguised form *[verschleiert]* " (134).

This historical view of the fairy tale's origins and development has influenced the way some feminist readers have interpreted specific fairy tales. Bottigheimer's essay on "The Transformed Queen," for example, maintained that Wilhelm Grimm's editorial emendations suppressed female power in tales that originally gave voice to matriarchal myths, including "The Twelve Brothers," "The Seven Ravens," "The Six Swans," "All Fur," and "The Goose Girl." Utilizing the work of Göttner-Abendroth and August Nitschke, who also had found evidence of a matriarchal social order in fairy tales,[22] Jack Zipes analyzed French versions of "Beauty and the Beast" and European variants of "Cinderella" to show how these literary tales, in the service of the civilizing process, had reformulated themes involving gender and sexuality, thereby deviating from the oral folktales that had originated in matriarchal societies (*Fairy Tales* 30–41; see also Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm* 137–46).

However, Zipes's sociohistorical analysis did not intend to discredit the classical tale entirely. To the contrary, he suggested that the remnants of matriarchal themes from the folktale gave the literary version a positive potential: "The importance of the first three major literary *Cinderellas*—by Giambattista Basile, Charles Perrault, and the Brothers Grimm—consists in the manner in

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which they continue to transmit residues and traces of the matrilineal tradition *(perhaps enhancing this tradition by marking them down in script),* while also reformulating how oral symbolical motifs and topoi could be used to represent social experience [. . .]" (*The Brothers Grimm* 141; emphasis mine). Published tales like "Cinderella," in other words, could store and transmit matriarchal values that remained camouflaged or embedded in the tale type, despite the changes wrought by patriarchy and the written word. Indeed, in another feminist reading of Cinderella variants, Louise Bernikow argued that Grimms' version of the story had actually preserved its matriarchal thrust. Unlike the versions by Perrault and Disney, who had severely minimized woman's power, Grimms' "Cinderella," according to Bernikow, maintained the powerful connection between mother and daughter, who are pitted against a woman compromised by patriarchy.[23]

However, feminist readings in general have relied less on the historical view of matriarchal social orders than on the argument that storytelling is "semiotically a female art." Karen E. Rowe articulated that point of view in 1986 by pointing not only to women's traditional role as storytellers, but also to the ways in which they have been represented as the spinners of tales in folktale collections, frame stories, and literary tales. She showed that through their association with the fates, fairies, and spinning, women are identified with the art and power of spinning tales. The history of the male appropriation of folktales is the history of the male's attempt to control this female power, to co-opt the female art of storytelling:

> To have the antiquarian Grimm Brothers regarded as the fathers of modern folklore is perhaps to forget the maternal lineage, the "mothers" who in the French *veillées* and English nurseries, in court salons and the German *Spinnstube,* in Paris and on the Yorkshire moors, passed on their wisdom. The Grimm brothers, like Tereus, Ovid, King Shahryar, Basile, Perrault, and others reshaped what they could not precisely comprehend, because only for women does the thread, which spins out the lore of life itself, create a tapestry to be fully read and understood. Strand by strand weaving [. . .] is the true art of the fairy tale—and it is, I would submit, semiotically a female art. (68, 71)

Beyond this explanation for the male appropriation of the female voice,[24] Rowe suggested "that in the history of folktale and fairy tale, women as storytellers have woven or spun their yarns, speaking at one level to a total culture, but at another to a sisterhood of readers who will understand the hidden language, the secret revelations of the tale" (57). In this view the fairy tale becomes a coded text in which the female voice, despite the attempt by men to control it, not only continues to speak, but speaks a secret, subversive language.[25] Like the historical theory of disguised matriarchal myths, Rowe's arguments reclaimed

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the fairy tale for women and provided reasons for feminist scholars and readers to reassess the genre's significance for women.

Recovering the Female Fairy-Tale Tradition

Rowe's claim for the fairy tale as a female art initiated lines of feminist inquiry that would require significant rewriting of the genre's history. The best known and most comprehensive work of scholarship on this topic is Marina Warner's book of 1994, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers,* which expanded Rowe's initial exploration of female storytellers and their representations into a panoramic history. While Warner's expansive multidisciplinary study offered a macroscopic view of the female voice in storytelling, scholars of specific national literatures engaged in pioneering research and recovery work that brought to light forgotten, neglected, or unknown examples of female fairy-tale production and reception.

In 1987 Jeannine Blackwell published an important article that documented female contributions to the fairy tale in nineteenth-century Germany ("Fractured Fairy Tales"). In her attention to the reception of fairy tales by women in the nineteenth-century home and to women's independent authorship of literary tales, Blackwell uncovered the efforts of women to restore a female narrative voice to the genre that had been, in Germany, largely appropriated and defined by the Grimms. Subsequent research began to flesh out those findings with specific studies, editions, and translations of individual German women writers who had engaged the fairy tale in various ways during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[26] That work continues in this special issue with the translations and commentaries by Jarvis ("Wicked Sisters") and Blackwell ("German Fairy Tales"), who have just completed a major translation project, *The Queen's Mirror: Fairy Tales by German Women Writers 1780–1900.* Building on the previous scholarship—which stressed the tales' social criticism, the attempts to construct new models of female behavior, and women's struggle to define the genre for themselves—the translations and commentary in this issue underline the diversity and complexity that characterized the production of fairy tales by German Romantic women writers.

The recovery of the French female fairy-tale tradition has moved at a somewhat faster pace than the recovery and assessment of tales by German women writers; however, both strands of scholarship have revealed the complexity involved in women's reappropriation of the genre. The production of fairy tales by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French women had not been completely unknown, of course; but their works, which had not enjoyed the canonical status of Perrault's *Contes,* were in need of rediscovery and reassessment, especially in light of feminist scholarship. Rowe, in fact, had suggested that it was time "to reconceptualize Madame d'Aulnoy, Mlle.

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L'Héritier, and Madame de Beaumont, not as pseudomasculine appropriators of a folkloric tradition, but as reappropriators of a female art of tale-telling" ("The Female Voice" 71). These authors—the *conteuses*—had been acknowledged in books by Jacques Barchilon and Raymonde Robert, who sought to redirect attention to French fairy-tale production generally, but not necessarily in feminist terms. This general recovery, however, facilitated the feminist project to reassess the fairy tales of the *conteuses,* which generated numerous articles, monographs, dissertations, editions, and anthologies.[27] As Rowe had anticipated, much of this criticism grappled with the inscription of a subversive female voice onto the genre. However, as Lewis Seifert's expert discussion of this scholarship shows, the women's subversion of the fairy tale is accompanied by still unresolved ideological ambiguities that expose the true complexity involved in the female production of literary fairy tales in the seventeenth century ("On Fairy Tales"). Among these writers there is no uniform female "voice" informing the subversive tendencies and no ideologically coherent treatment of those fairy-tale themes and structures—such as the marriage motif—that bear on questions of gender and female identity.

The diversity and ambiguities of fairy-tales produced by women in Germany and France during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries must be seen in tandem with the emergence of the modern European literary fairy tale during that same period. The challenge for women writers was not simply to engage the emerging literary genre, which was being appropriated and dominated by men, but to do so under sociocultural and economic conditions that discouraged female authorship. The ambiguous, ambivalent, experimental, and sometimes fragmented fairy tales penned by women during this time reflect their struggle to find their voices in a literary genre that had been institutionalized and aligned very quickly with the values and perspectives of patriarchy. As Ruth B. Bottigheimer argues in this special issue ("Fertility Control"), the restrictive image of the modern European fairy-tale heroine came into being during precisely this period, confirming the parallel development of the literary fairy tale, male dominance of the genre, and women's loss of control over their own bodies. Accordingly, the corpus of literary fairy tales became one locus of struggle over questions and constructions of sexuality, gender, and power.

Women Writers and the Fairy Tale as Intertext

Because the development and institutionalization of the modern literary fairy tale occurred initially in Italy, France, and Germany between 1500 and the early 1800s, feminist studies in Anglo-American contexts have focused on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century reception by women authors who were reacting to a more or less established, canonical fairy-tale tradition, not an

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emerging one. These authors were responding to precisely the structures and images of female disempowerment inherent in narratives of the modern fairy-tale heroine. Accordingly, feminist scholarship has focused on women novelists whose narratives rely on classic fairy tales as intertexts to inform their novels and critically engage the tradition. Gilbert and Gubar noted this already in 1979 in *The Madwoman in the Attic,* where they discussed how writers such as Emily Brontë and Charlotte Brontë used fairy-tale allusions, structures, and characters in their novels to repudiate the fairy tale's repressive fantasies and to foreground feminist themes. In the wake of Gilbert and Gubar, other feminist scholars continued to investigate the intertextual role of classic tales in the works of nineteenth-century English women novelists, including the Brontës, Jane Austen, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Frances Burney, and Charlotte Smith.[28] In general, such studies confirmed that these novelists used fairy-tale intertexts—in particular the well-known story of Cinderella—as subversive strategies to contest the idealized outcomes of fairy tales and their representations of gender and female identity.

It would not be accurate, however, to understand the relationship of these women writers to the fairy-tale tradition simply as a unilateral rejection of it. As Huang Mei demonstrated in her study of four nineteenth-century female novelists, *Transforming the Cinderella Dream: From Frances Burney to Charlotte Brontë,* the intertextual relationship between novel and fairy tale generates a complex dialogue that is "multidimensioned and multilayered" (28).[29] According to Huang, the complexity of female responses derives in part from the fact that "the Cinderella theme is itself essentially ambiguous and dialogic, with a constant tension built on the desire/self-denial, passion/reason dichotomy" (28). Moreover, Huang read the novels in her study not only as responses to Perrault's classic version of "Cinderella," but also as responses to the Cinderella theme embodied in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela,* which "grafts the central dialectics of Protestant individualism onto the structural ambiguity of the original tale" (23). "As a result," Huang maintained, "the Cinderella myth has functioned as a double-edged (or multiedged) ideological weapon. On the one hand, the code of propriety is carefully woven into a myth that romanticizes woman's subordinate and domesticated role within the patriarchy; on the other hand, the Protestant individualism that is simultaneously programmed into the plot inevitably arouses in women [. . .] a sense of individual dignity and an urge for self-realization" (25). Huang identified, then, "a natural ambivalence on the part of the women writers" (29) towards the Cinderella story and in their literary responses to it. Refusing to consider the story's oppositions as absolute, women novelists embrace the story's individualizing thrust, while struggling to feminize the traditional patriarchal narrative: "[W]omen novelists intuitively develop the paradox of the existing Cinderella theme, explore it

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from a feminine or feminist angle, and stretch it to create a larger imaginative, as well as existential, space. [. . .] Trying to tailor their female experience and sensibility to the inherited narrative paradigm, they end up by retailoring the paradigm itself and parading their Otherness. And it is this entangled verbal wrestling that gives the texts by women their special power and vitality" (29).

Revisionist Mythmaking and the Female Subject

The fairy-tale texts produced by twentieth-century women writers—particularly those published since the advent of feminist fairy-tale criticism in 1970—have received extensive critical attention by feminist scholars.[30] If seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European women authors of literary tales were reclaiming their roles as "spinners" of tales, as Rowe suggested, and if nineteenth-century English women novelists were, to use Huang's metaphor, "retailoring" the classic fairy-tale narratives they had inherited, then late-twentieth-century feminist writers have been viewed not simply as spinners and seamstresses, but as "thieves of language"—"female Prometheuses"—involved in a conscious feminist project of mythic proportion.[31]

Alluding to the feminist theory of Claudine Herrmann, Alicia Ostriker used the Promethean imagery of theft in her 1982 essay "The Thieves of Language: Women Poets and Revisionist Mythmaking." Ostriker was interested specifically in recent poetry by American women "in which the project of defining a female self has been a major endeavor" (70). According to Ostriker, the distinguishing characteristic of these poets is not a shared female language, "but a vigorous and various invasion of the sanctuaries of existing language, the treasuries where our meanings for 'male' and 'female' are themselves preserved." The fairy tale, of course, constitutes one of these sanctuaries of cultural myth—the space where gender identity is constructed. In advancing "the idea that revisionist mythmaking in women's poetry may offer us one significant means of redefining ourselves and consequently our culture" (71), Ostriker would build in part on Anne Sexton's fairy-tale poems from *Transformations* (1971). Significantly, the most important of Ostriker's conclusions about women's revisionist mythmaking pertains to her analysis of the text's construction of subjective identity. The revisionist myths of female poets like Sexton do not simply enact feminist anti-authoritarianism, reevaluate the patriarchal values of patriarchal mythologies, and consciously assert their theft and revision of tradition; most significantly they reject the model of the integrated subject that texts such as fairy tales hold up as normative.[32] Women's revisionist myths, Ostriker concluded, are characterized not by a single subject or voice, but by "multiple intertwined voices"—that is, a multivocality of "divided voices evok[ing] divided selves" and "challeng[ing] the validity of the 'I,' of any 'I' " (88).

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Revisionist mythmaking and the nature of the female subject in contemporary fairy-tale adaptations have been the focus of much feminist criticism. However, despite the importance of Ostriker's paradigmatic essay—which focused solely on poetry[33]—her metaphor of the female Prometheus has not been adopted by fairy-tale scholarship. The metaphor that has dominated feminist investigations of the female subject in fairy-tale texts has been the magic mirror, which Gilbert and Gubar had used in their influential work of 1979. For Gilbert and Gubar the mirror was the patriarchal tale itself, which holds up before women the male's projection of female identity. In 1983, Ellen Cronan Rose drew on this metaphor when she published "Through the Looking Glass: When Women Tell Fairy Tales," an examination of Sexton's *Transformations*, Olga Broumas's *Beginning with O* (1977), and Angela Carter's *The Bloody Chamber* (1979). Like Ostriker, Rose was intent on examining "what happens when a woman writer turns to the male cultural myths embedded in fairy tales." In terms of the essay's controlling metaphor, Rose wanted to understand what occurs when women shatter the fairy-tale mirror held up to them by a patriarchal society and undertake an independent quest for identity. However, because Rose relies on Bruno Bettelheim's view of fairy tales as "embryonic tales of *Bildung*" (211), the essay remains focused on what a woman can "discover about her natural, innate pattern of development when she rewrites a fairy tale 'so as to make it a more accurate mirror of female experience'" (211–12)[34]—that is, when she sees through patriarchy's distorted paradigm of socialization and individual development, and uses her own experience to envision a model of female development. Consequently, Rose does not move beyond the notion of a singular development—albeit female development—that can be discerned in fairy tales retold by women. To be sure, that development includes discovery and acceptance of female sexuality, but in its most optimistic form it remains nonetheless a linear development towards a coherent self, a "healthy adult identity" (222).[35]

In *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies*, Cristina Bacchilega undertook a much more sophisticated reading of revisionist fairy tales by both male and female authors and filmmakers, including Donald Barthelme, Robert Coover, Angela Carter, Neil Jordan, Margaret Atwood, and Jane Campion.[36] Rose's interpretations of contemporary fairy-tale revisions were based on the problematic concept of "natural development" and on a simplistic view of "rewriting," whereby patriarchal views are merely reevaluated and revised. In contrast, Bacchilega's study denaturalized the concepts of both gender and narrative, and articulated a much more complex view of postmodern revisions, one that acknowledges the multivocality of both the traditional texts and the revisions that entered into dialogue with them:

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> Rereading is the magic key to rewriting: re-viewing a narrative [. . .] raises questions that demand revising its naturalized artifice. [. . . T]his rewriting need not be simply a stylistic or ideological updating to make the tale more appealing to late twentieth-century adult audiences. [. . . I]t involves substantive though diverse questioning of both narrative construction and assumptions about gender. Nor is such a narrative and ideological critique necessarily one-sided or negative. Postmodern revision is often two-fold, seeking to expose, make visible, the fairy tale's complicity with "exhausted" narrative and gender ideologies, and, by working from the fairy tales' multiple versions, seeking to expose, bring out, what the institutionalization of such tales for children has forgotten or left unexploited. This kind of rereading does more than interpret anew or shake the genre's ground rules. It listens for the many "voices" of fairy tales as well [. . .]. (50)

Such a perspective enabled Bacchilega to conclude, for example, that Carter's revisions of "Little Red Riding Hood" engage a fairy-tale image that itself "explodes into voices," and that "Carter's self-conscious exploration of this multi-valency complicates any either/or, inside/outside construction of gendered identity, or of gendered narrative forms" (70).

Moreover, Bacchilega conceptualized the magic mirror as something more subtle than a static image that could be simply shattered—or replaced with a truer mirror—to reveal women's "real" or "natural" identity. Unlike Rose, who subscribed to the idea that women might create "a more accurate mirror" to reflect "her natural pattern of development," Bacchilega understood that mirrors—even those created by women—are neither natural objects nor unmediated reflections of what is natural: "As with all mirrors, [. . .] refraction and the shaping presence of a frame mediate the fairy tale's reflection. As it images our potential for transformation, the fairy tale refracts what we wish or fear to become. Human—and thus changeable—ideas, desires, and practices frame the tale's images. Further, if we see more of the mirror rather than its images, questions rather than answers emerge. Who is holding the mirror and whose desires does it represent and contain? Or, more pointedly, how is the fairy tale's magic produced narratively?" (28). Recognizing the magic mirror as the "controlling metaphor" (10) of the magic tale—and of its revisions—Bacchilega's study foregrounded the artifice at work in constructing *and* deconstructing patriarchal images, and in reconstructing alternative visions. In other words, Bacchilega invoked the metaphor of the mirror to reveal how postmodern fairy tales lay bare *the shaping* of human desire by history, ideology, and material conditions. As she observed in concluding her book: "The wonder of fairy

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tales, indeed, relies on the magic mirror which artfully reflects and frames desire. Overtly re-producing the workings of desire, postmodern wonders perform multiple tricks with that mirror to re-envision its images of *story* and *woman*" (146).

The mirror continues to act as an illuminating metaphor for feminist scholars investigating questions of female identity in the context of fairy-tale reception and production. For the volume *Mirror, Mirror on the Wall*, Kate Bernheimer recently asked twenty-four women writers to reflect on "how fairy tales affected their thinking about emotion, the self, gender and culture," with results that confirm the diversity of female perceptions as well as "the very multiplicity contained within fairy tale literature itself" (xviii).[37] And in this special issue of *Marvels & Tales*, Elizabeth Wanning Harries argues on the basis of women's autobiographical writings that fairy tales act as broken mirrors for women who use them to construct incoherent and unknowable images of themselves, thereby confirming the complex and problematic relationship between the classic tales and constructions of female subjectivity ("The Mirror Broken").

Gender and the Passive Reception of Fairy Tales

The tendency of scholarship to problematize the fairy tale's relationship to gender construction and female subjectivity leads back to the question at the root of early feminist interest in the genre: namely, to what extent does the classic fairy tale engender the sociocultural behavior and attitudes of its female readers and listeners? What, to reprise Lieberman's words, do we really know about "the meaning of fairy tales to women"? In 1993, I asserted that we knew in fact relatively little, that theorizing about the psychosocial effects of fairy tales had outdistanced empirical studies of their reception ("Response" 239–43). Certainly, the study of creative writers and filmmakers who use fairy tales as intertexts and engage in revisionist mythmaking illuminates the productive reception of fairy tales by women. But the genre's passive reception—the experience of fairy tale by recipients who do not make their responses public (Link 99)—has received far less attention.[38] This remains in part a methodological problem. Although scholars can demonstrate how fairy tales have been intentionally manipulated to serve in the processes of socialization and constructing gender, we have a much more difficult time documenting personal responses of recipients and the genre's actual influence on their attitudes and behaviors.

In this field of inquiry, the works of Kay Stone have provided some of the most useful results and methodological models. Based on interviews with both males and females of varying ages, Stone's studies have confirmed the ambiguity of fairy-tale reception and the ambivalence of the recipients. Her dissertation on "The Romantic Heroine in Anglo-American Folk and Popular Literature" and

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her frequently cited article, "Things Walt Disney Never Told Us," both appeared in 1975 and came to grips with the early debate over the nature and reception of the traditional fairy-tale heroine. These initial studies confirmed that in North America a woman's experience of fairy tales relied on Grimm and Disney, whose tales did evince a paucity of active heroines. So the fact that many of Stone's respondents admitted to being influenced by the passive heroines they had encountered seemed to substantiate the role played by the classical fairy tale in promulgating gender stereotypes.

But already in that early work Stone noted that some women whom she had interviewed about their childhood experience of fairy tales "performed a fascinating feat of selective memory by transforming relatively passive heroines into active ones" ("Things" 49). In subsequent work, Stone explored this ambiguity, which attested ultimately not only to the variability of interpretation, but also to a woman's ongoing and potentially liberating engagement with fairy tales over the course of her lifetime. In 1985 she analyzed her interviews to determine whether fairy tales were, as psychoanalysts suggested, "problem-solving" or, as many feminists argued, "problem-creating" ("Misuses"). She confirmed the feminist view that fairy tales generate problems of identity by presenting readers with unrealizable romantic myths. However, she also noted that men and women respond differently to the idealized gender roles they encounter,[39] and that women in particular do not stop "struggling with the problem of female roles as they are presented in fairy tales" ("Misuses" 142). Then, in a turn that reclaimed the fairy tale in the struggle to define the self, Stone concluded that "many females find in fairy tales an echo of their own struggles to become human beings" (144). In other words, while the romantic myths idealized in fairy tales may negatively affect a woman's self-perception, Stone's evidence shows that the dissonance that eventually emerges, the struggle that ensues, can provoke a critical and creative engagement: "[I]f women remember fairy tales, consciously or unconsciously, they can reinterpret them as well. It is the possibility of such reinterpretation that gives hope that women can eventually free themselves from the bonds of fairy tale magic, magic that transforms positively at one age and negatively at another" (143). Stone's data and her analysis of it—as well as her more recent accounts of her own transformation as a female storyteller and feminist scholar, including her essay in this issue[40]—seem to support the more speculative thinking of Kolbenschlag and others that the classic tales can be both "parables of feminine socialization" *and* stories that ultimately call "women forth to an 'awakening.' "[41]

Stymied, perhaps, by the interdisciplinary expertise and methods required, fairy-tale scholars have not eagerly pursued the study of women's passive reception, despite Stone's intriguing results. Only recently, in 1995, did a dis-

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sertation in clinical psychology and women's studies by Rita J. Comtois pick up precisely where Stone had begun. Stimulated by the same controversy in fairy-tale scholarship as Stone had been—the conflict between those interpretations asserting the fairy tale's psychological value and those criticizing its negative effect on socialization and gender role development—Comtois interviewed Caucasian women of diverse backgrounds about their perceptions of the fairy tale. Her study concluded that women perceive fairy tales not as helpful but as problematic because of the discrepancies between their own life circumstances and those described for the fairy-tale heroine. Comtois noted in particular the negative responses among those women whose personal lives and social views contradicted the fairy tale's traditional depiction of women. These findings would seem to bear out Stone's idea that fairy tales remain a source of cognitive dissonance for adult women and thus a potential locus for critical engagement and ongoing self-reflection, perhaps even more so in the 1990s, given the increased level of awareness concerning women's issues. So the question arises, then: To what extent have women's—and for that matter, men's—responses to fairy tales changed in light of social changes and the feminist project to subvert and feminize the fairy-tale canon?

Directions for Future Research

Having described the principal trends and developments in feminist fairy-tale scholarship, I would like to conclude by suggesting certain lines of inquiry that future research could profitably pursue. Some recommendations follow from the significant work that has been done, others from the relative lack of research in important areas.

Reception Studies: Because the fairy tale's role in constructing gender roles has been repeatedly foregrounded for the past three decades, it is time for scholars to assess the impact of feminism and feminist criticism itself on the way contemporary readers experience fairy tales. On the one hand, this kind of assessment could involve the analysis of anthologies, textbooks, course syallbi, library holdings, and publication and sales figures. On the other hand, in order to study the passive reception of the fairy tale, we need to develop credible methods for eliciting and analyzing reliable data from recipients—including questionnaires, interviews, and other forms of data gathering and experimentation. Here the work of Stone, Comtois, and Wardetzky can provide preliminary models.[42]

Interdisciplinary Research: Serious reception studies require serious interdisciplinary methods, knowledge, and collaboration. However, the fairy tale's psychosocial impact is only one topic requiring interdisciplinary investigation. The textual research that has been done on the editorial history of Grimms' fairy tales, for example, has proven itself to be indispensable in reaching

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informed conclusions about the representation of gender in these classic fairy tales. Consequently, critics who would offer feminist interpretations of Grimms' stories, or who would use these texts to illustrate feminist theories, must become familiar with the tools available to Grimm scholars and take the tales' textual and editorial history into account in order to produce credible readings. The fairy tale has been similarly shaped by social, cultural, and historical conditions. The most illuminating feminist readings are those that can interpret the fairy-tale text concretely in these contexts—for example, Zipes's interpretation of "Rumpelstiltskin" in light of the socioeconomic history of spinning ("Rumpelstiltskin and the Decline of Female Productivity"). Furthermore, because questions of gender in the fairy tale are also linked to the complex relationship between the folktale and the literary fairy tale—between oral and print cultures—further cooperation among folklorists, anthropologists, and literary scholars is essential. Much of the best fairy-tale scholarship discussed here has benefitted from such inter- and multidisciplinary perspectives, which need to become even more common.

Comparative and Multicultural Research: The focus in this survey has been on scholarship devoted to Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. The paucity of references to gender-related research in other cultural contexts suggests how focused the debate has been on Western society. When Lieberman, for example, spoke of the fairy tale's influence in "our culture" and in the lives of "most children," she was speaking at best of North America. The necessity of interpretations solidly grounded in textual and sociocultural history, however, does not diminish the importance of comparing variants from across cultures. To test generalizations and to theorize the role of gender in folktales and fairy tales, scholars need to expand the focus of feminist fairy-tale research beyond the Western European and Anglo-American tradition, and even within those traditions to investigate the fairy-tale intertexts in the work of minority writers.[43] It is time for fairy-tale scholars, particularly in North America, to expand the scope of their research and bibliography.[44] This can be a daunting task. As Kathleen Ragan has noted, her attempts to make *Fearless Girls, Wise Women and Beloved Sisters* "a truly multicultural anthology" were frustrated by the largely British and American sources available to her and the American libraries she used (xxv). Removing these constraints and enabling genuinely comparative studies and anthologies will require cross-disciplinary conversations, linguistic retooling, and translations of both scholarship and primary texts. Fairy-tale scholars who have no access to the important comparative perspectives provided by the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens,* for example, conduct comparative research under a severe handicap (see Uther).

Recovery Work: The comparative studies and anthologies described above presuppose that the recovery of neglected fairy-tale texts by women will con-

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tinue, and that these texts will be made available in new editions and translations. Scholars like Blackwell and Jarvis are doing exemplary work within the field of German literary history, but similar projects to resurrect women's fairy tales need to be undertaken in other cultural contexts and with the work of minority women writers.

Interpretation: Because of the social, political, and educational uses to which classic fairy tales have been put, the temptation is strong to identify a didactic purpose and to abstract a moral—whether repressive or emancipatory—from the overall plot of a story. Readings of revisonist texts do not have immunity from this tendency and can just as easily gloss over ideological complexities and contradictions. However, understood as a locus of struggle over cultural values and individual desires, the fairy tale actually invites thematic instability and contradictory impulses. Interpretations of classical and revisionist texts must be attentive to that struggle—that is, to the ambivalence with which women writers and other creative artists often approach the genre. Revisionist mythmaking, after all, enacts ambivalence by simultaneously rejecting and embracing the fairy tale. A number of essays in this issue make just that point. So sociohistorical and comparative study needs to be based on textual interpretation that is sensitive not only to didacticism on one hand and subversion on the other, but also to ambiguity, irony, and paradox. Close reading is required to come to grips with the complex cultural conversations, coding, and personal voices embedded in the language and structures of the fairy tale.

Film and Other Media: Studies of fairy tales by and about women have concentrated largely, but not exclusively, on oral storytelling and literature. More research needs to be devoted to other significant media, such as film, video, and television, as well as art and illustration. The gender-related work that has been done in these areas needs to be expanded—not only with more individual interpretations and with work on media creations *by* women, but also with comprehensive studies contributing in a broader way to the history of the fairy tale.[45] Research on film, video, and animation needs especially to look beyond the works of Disney and to track fairy-tale motifs and intertexts in both mainstream and independent filmmmaking. For instance, the new release of fairy-tale films produced by DEFA, the state-sponsored production company of the former East Germany, should be of special interest to feminist fairy-tale scholars interested in the construction of gender in socialist societies. In addition, the World Wide Web has become a source of scholarly and popular fairy-tale materials, which now require description, analysis, and evaluation.[46] In fact, scholars have yet to explore in any comprehensive way the role played by the popular press and electronic media in shaping, disseminating, and challenging the popular perception of fairy tales, especially in terms of gender.[47]

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As I have sketched it, the agenda for feminist fairy-tale scholarship parallels in large measure the agenda for fairy-tale studies itself. After all, feminist scholarship and modern fairy-tale studies emerged in tandem during the early 1970s, with both asking important questions about sociocultural institutions and the process of socialization. In retrospect, the debate framed by Lurie and Lieberman about "fairy tale liberation" might seem somewhat simplistic in light of the knowledge generated subsequently by fairy-tale scholars about the complexities of editorial history and canonization, the fairy tale's problematic ambiguities, the female fairy-tale tradition, and the vagaries of fairy-tale reception. Nonetheless, the clash between Lurie and Lieberman thirty years ago initiated serious thinking about the role of women in the fairy tale and about the role of the fairy tale in women's studies. This intersection of feminism and fairy-tale studies created a powerful synergy that has dramatically and permanently affected the way fairy tales are produced, received, studied, and taught.

Notes

1. Lurie, "Fairy Tale Liberation" 42. Lurie revised and reprinted this essay as "Folktale Liberation" in her book, *Don't Tell the Grown-Ups*. I am using the original essay from 1970.
2. Earlier discussions of feminist fairy-tale scholarship through approximately 1985 can be found in Stone, "Feminist Approaches"; and Zipes, *Don't Bet on the Prince* 1–36. See also McGlathery's brief discussions of feminist research on Grimms' tales (*Grimms' Fairy Tales* 25–27, 51–53). A well-annotated bibliography of fairy-tale research and collections from the perspective of women's studies can be found in Helms. A good, up-to-date summary of feminism and fairy tales is provided by Jarvis, "Feminism." For a discussion of research on women and oral narrative in general, see Moser-Rath. DeGraff's partially annotated bibliography, which includes only thirteen items, is very brief and selective. An incomplete and unsympathetic summary of feminist scholarship on Grimms' tales is found in the generally unreliable and problematic study of the Brothers Grimm by Kamenetsky (279–87).
3. Early critiques from the 1970s sometimes invoked the even earlier observation of Simone de Beauvoir, who wrote in *The Second Sex*: "Woman is the Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella, Snow White, she who receives and submits. In song and story the young man is seen departing adventurously in search of a woman; he slays the dragon, he battles giants; she is locked in a tower, a palace, a garden, a cave, she is chained to a rock, a captive, sound asleep: she waits" (qtd. in Kolbenschlag 1). Kay Stone notes that early feminist works of the 1950s and 1960s—like those of de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan—viewed the fairy tale "uncritically [. . .] as one of the many socializing forces that discouraged females from realizing their full human potential. Few writers from this period focused exclusively on the *Märchen* since it was only one of many sources of stereotyping. Thus critical descriptions tended to be vague and generalized" ("Feminist Approaches" 229).
4. Similarly, the men's movement, especially in its quasi-religious and religious manifestations, has given the fairy tale a role in defining and redefining manhood (Haase,

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"German Fairy Tales"). The most obvious example is, of course, Robert Bly's *Iron John,* which is roundly debunked by Zipes, "Spreading Myths."

5. In 1975 Kay Stone verified that more active heroines could be found in Anglo-American collections of folktales, but that these collections were not as well known to readers as the Grimms' (see Stone, "Romantic Heroines" and "Things").
6. Unless otherwise noted, translations of quotations and titles are mine throughout.
7. See Zipes, *Beauties, Beasts and Enchantment* and *Victorian Fairy Tales;* and Auerbach and Knoepflmacher. These anthologies are part of the research that has been carried out to recover and make accessible the fairy tales of women writers, as discussed below in the section "Recovering the Female Fairy-Tale Tradition."
8. See Zipes, *Don't Bet On the Prince* and *The Outspoken Princess and the Gentle Knight.* I am focusing this survey on feminist fairy-tale scholarship, not on fairy-tale revisions by feminist writers. For a bibliographic overview of primary literature up to 1986, see Zipes, *Don't Bet on the Prince* 11–33; see also Zipes, *Fairy Tale as Myth* 138–61; and "The Struggle." Feminist criticism on contemporary revisionist fairy tales is discussed below in the section on "Revisionist Mythmaking and the Female Subject."
9. Maria Tatar's recent anthology, *The Classic Fairy Tales,* also groups folktales and fairy tales together by type; and in her introductory essays to each tale type, Tatar undertakes comparisons that frequently draw attention to representations of women. Alan Dundes, of course, has argued persuasively that responsible interpretations of fairy tales must take into account not simply a single text but the extant variants of that tale type: "[I]t is never appropriate to analyze a folktale (or any other exemplar of a folklore genre) on the basis of a single text" (18). In his own study of "Little Red Riding Hood," Dundes reviews Zipes's analysis and notes, "The problem for the folklorist [. . .] is that Zipes is really interested only in the particular impact of the Perrault and Grimm versions of AT 333 upon European society from the seventeenth century to the present" (40). Zipes responds to Dundes in the prologue to the second edition of *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood* (1–15), where he faults Dundes for dehistoricizing the tale.
10. See, for example, Bürger, "Das Märchen und die Entwicklung," "Märchen und Sage," and "Die soziale Funktion"; and Gmelin. For attitudes towards Grimms' tales in postwar Germany, see Zipes, "The Struggle" 167–74. On the ideological and textual reevaluation of Grimms' work, in the 1970s and 1980s, see Haase, "Re-Viewing the Grimm Corpus" 127–29. See also the overview of Grimm scholarship in McGlathery, *Grimms' Fairy Tales,* especially 43–58.
11. See Rölleke, *Die älteste Märchensammlung* and "The 'Utterly Hessian' Fairy Tales by 'Old Marie.'" Rölleke's early essays on the editorial history of the Grimms' tales are collected in *"Nebeninschriften"* and *"Wo das Wünschen noch geholfen hat."* His scholarly edition of the Grimms' seventh edition of 1857, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Ausgabe letzter Hand,* was also to become important upon its publication in 1980.
12. See Tatar, "Beauties vs. Beasts"; "Born Yesterday"; and "From Nags to Witches." All of these are revised and reprinted in *The Hard Facts.*
13. For an excellent discussion of the relative merits of the research published by Zipes, Tatar, and Bottigheimer, see Blackwell, "The Many Names of Rumpelstiltskin."
14. Employing an eclectic and rather confusing array of approaches, Ingrid Spörk's *Studien zu ausgewählten Märchen der Brüder Grimm* also singled out the relationship between mother and daughter as a significant structure, leading Spörk to identify

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the "mother-märchen" as a fundamental tale type among Grimms' classic tales. On mother-daughter relationships in Grimms' tales, see also Barzilai; Liebs; and Lundell, *Fairy Tale Mothers*. Cristina Bacchilega offers an excellent reading of gender in the Snow White tale, especially in light of previous scholarship and literary adaptations by Angela Carter and Robert Coover ("The Framing of 'Snow White' ").

15. See also Hirsch.
16. The line in question occurs after the daughter has fled from home to avoid her father's incestuous plan and arrives in a great forest: "Da trug es sich zu, daß der König, dem dieser Wald gehörte, darin jagte" (Rölleke, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 1: 352). A significant ambiguity arises from the fact that the German clause "dem dieser Wald gehörte" ("to whom this forest belonged") can be taken as either a restrictive or as a nonrestrictive clause, leaving a question as to whether the king mentioned here, and who later marries All Fur, is another king or, in fact, her father. English translators must decide on one of the two mutually exclusive options: either the restrictive clause implying a different king, as in the translation Gilbert uses, "Then it so happened that the King to whom this forest belonged, was hunting in it" (Hunt 328); or the nonrestrictive clause implying her father the king, "Then it so happened that the King, to whom this forest belonged, was hunting in it" (my revision of Hunt's translation).
17. On the editorial history of "All Fur," see Dollerup, Reventlow, and Hansen.
18. A very interesting and worthwhile German master's thesis by Susanne Ude-Koeller in 1985 investigates the changing image of the female in the Grimms' collection against the background of the brothers' lives and their relationship to women.
19. Without specifically approaching the tales from a feminist point of view, Lutz Röhrich also pointed to the diversity of feminine characters and character traits in the Grimms' collection.
20. See, for example, Hayley S. Thomas, who makes the case for a subversive female perspective in "The Worn-Out Dancing Shoes."
21. Such arguments had been made decades earlier (see, for example, Pancritius). As Jungblut noted, Johann Jakob Bachofen had discovered matriarchal rule and set it "in opposition to the Greco-Roman principle of patriarchy" long before feminist scholarship (500). Jungian scholars of course, have also dealt with mythic representations of the feminine, in particular the archetype of the Great Mother, as well as other issues related to the "feminine." See, for example, Birkhäuser-Oeri; Estés; von Franz; Grabinska; and Graham. In developing her idea that "myth, tale, and tragedy must be transformed by bold acts of reinterprettion in order to enter the experience of the emerging female self" (150), Heilbrun pointed to Erich Neumann's Jungian-oriented interpretation of "Amor and Psyche."
22. Göttner-Abendroth's feminist analysis of the fairy tale's matriarchal roots has been linked several times to August Nitschke's sociohistorical study, *Soziale Ordnungen im Spiegel der Märchen* (see Zipes, *Fairy Tales* 43n29; and *The Brothers Grimm* 137). Göttner-Abendroth, however, faults Nitschke's anthropological expertise and questions his readings of fairy tales because he confuses the various stages of matriarchy and patriarchy (Göttner-Abendroth, *Die Göttin und ihr Heros* 232–33n6).
23. See, however, the discussion below of Huang's book, *Transforming the Cinderella Dream*. Huang acknowledges that Christianity has come to replace "pantheist" elements in Perrault's version of "Cinderella" (2–3), but she also notes "its puzzling textual complexity and ambiguity, which stand out strikingly in spite of the

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authorial effort to integrate the text with Christian morality" (4). In Huang's view, "Perrault's Cinderella, though apparently more passive than other of her sister cinder girls, does express her will and take the initiative at the crucial points of her life." Accordingly, she attributes a measure of power to Perrault's Cinderella, who "is active, rather than passive, and forges her own lot" (4).

24. See also Leblans on the male appropriation of the female's role and her story-telling art.
25. See also Radner.
26. See Blackwell, "Laying the Rod to Rest" and "Die verlorene Lehre"; Jarvis, "Literary Legerdemain," "Spare the Rod," "Trivial Pursuit," and "The Vanished Woman"; Morris-Keitel, "The Audience"; Royer; Runge; and Vogele. Important translations and editions of works by Bettina von Arnim and Gisela von Arnim have been produced by Jarvis (*Märchenbriefe; Das Leben;* and "The Rose Cloud") and Morris-Keitel ("Tale of the Lucky Purse").
27. See Chartrand; Cooper; Defrance; Duggan; Farrell; Hannon; Harries, "Fairy Tales about Fairy Tales"; Hoffmann; Marin; Seifert; R. Simpson; Thirard; Trost; G. Verdier; Welch; and Zuerner. Warner's *From the Beast to the Blonde* treats the *conteuses* throughout. Warner also published *Wonder Tales,* an anthology of French tales in translation. Zipes's anthology of French tales in translation, *Beauties, Beasts and Enchantment,* stimulated increased interest among English-speaking readers. Important editions of d'Aulnoy's tales were published in France by Barchilon and Hourcarde; and by Lemirre. See also the reprint of *Nouveau cabinet des fées.*
28. See, for example, Connell; Huang; Lappas; Rowe, "Fairy-born"; Rowen; and J. Simpson.
29. Huang, whose study focuses on "Cinderella," questions Gilbert and Gubar's application of "Snow White" as the "universal pattern" in women's literary works: "My suggestion is that the thriving tribe of apparently docile and virtuous girls is to a larger degree patterned on Cinderella, who is much more active and complex than our cursory first impression indicates. We do not have to read every wicked mother figure [. . .] into an antipatriarchal subverter to discover a fermenting female consciousness and dynamic textual intricacies" (7).
30. Revisionist writers of fairy-tales from before 1970 have been discussed in dissertations by Green (Eudora Welty and Truman Capote) and by Theodosiadou (Eudora Welty). Veritz Smith notes that revisionist fairy-tale writing occurs as early as the 1930s in the protofeminist Latin-American fiction of María Luisa Bombal and Dulce María Loynaz, who subvert cultural myths inhibiting female development. Tales by Victorian women writers reclaiming the genre are discussed by Knoepflmacher.
31. Critics often invoke the mythic dimension as a criterion to assess the value of feminist revisionist tales. In the case of Margaret Atwood, for example, Sharon Rose Wilson notes approvingly that "[f]airy-tale intertext in Atwood's work reverberates with mythic significance, giving us courage to face themes of sexual politics—in literature, society, and our lives" (*Margaret Atwood's Fairy-Tale Sexual Politics* xv). Scholars of children's literature in particular have debated the aesthetic and literary value of feminist revisions in similar terms. Anna E. Altmann, for example, has argued in "Parody and Poesis in Feminist Fairy Tales" that parodic rewritings are useful because they "can bring us to an awareness of the need for change," but that feminist fairy tales engaged in poesis create "new images that deepen our understanding of what it is to be human and to live in the world" (30). Cornelia

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Hoogland, on the other hand, has criticized feminist fairy tales because they do not permit open-ended, imaginative readings. See also MacDonald.

32. Not all traditional tales, of course, lead to the integration of the subject. Incoherent subjects are more common in the *Schwank,* or humorous folktale, than in the magic tale. Grimms' tale of "Freddy and Katy," for example, depicts a woman's psychological disintegration and loss of self. See Metzger.
33. See von Bechtolsheim for a treatment of American women poets who adapted tales from Grimm. For a good discussion of the complexity of fairy-tale heroines and their re-creation in the German-American poetry of Geertje Suhr, see Kellenter. For excellent anthologies of fairy-tale poetry, including that of many women, see Mieder, *Disenchantments* and *Mädchen, pfeif auf den Prinzen!*
34. Rose is quoting Gilbert and Gubar (220).
35. Rose does discern "a spectrum of female responses to patriarchal fairy tales ranging from the critical at one extreme [i.e., Sexton] to the creative, even visionary, at the other [i.e., Carter]" (212). This diversity of voices among women's revisionist fairy tales is significant, but does not address the multivocality within specific texts. So whereas Ostriker finds the heroines "in women's revisionist mythology [. . .] more often fluid than solid" (88), Rose determines that revisionist tales, taken together, reflect a diversity of female responses and alternative visions.
36. On modern/postmodern fairy-tale revisions, see also D'Uva; Fullerton; Green; and Lappas. On Margaret Atwood, see Wilson, *Margaret Atwood's Fairy-Tale Sexual Politics;* on Angela Carter, see especially Bacchilega and Roemer.
37. For personal reflections of this type by creative artists, see also Atwood; Hyman; and Yolen, "Brothers Grimm."
38. For more on productive and passive reception, see Link 85–108.
39. Stone's findings concerning the gender-specific nature of fairy-tale response have been borne out in another context by the Kristin Wardetzky's studies of children in the former East Germany (*Märchen;* "Structure").
40. See Stone, "Burning Brightly," *Burning Brightly,* and "Fire and Water." See also Gordon for another storyteller's account of this reclamation.
41. Kolbenschlag 3, 4. Claudia Opitz, in considering "what women think about fairy tales," suggested that Grimms' tales, despite their misogyny, can be salvaged by women through subversive, critical reinterpretation.
42. For other models of studying fairy-tale reception, not necessarily from a feminist point of view, see Haase, "Response" 239–43. See Davies on feminist rewrites and preschoolers.
43. See, for example, Peters.
44. See, for example, Apo; Friedl, Beck, and Keddie; Glazer; Gobrecht; Hooker; Lichtenberger; Mills; Mooijman; and Rappoport.
45. On film, see Bacchilega, *Postmodern Fairy Tales* 66–69, 129–38; Bell; Bernikow; Cooks, Orbe, and Bruess; DeGraff, "From Glass Slipper"; Dika; Haase, "Gold into Straw"; Hawkins; Hyams; Jeffords; Jenkins; Madison; Murphy; Sells; and Zipes, "Breaking the Disney Spell" and *Happily Ever After* 61–110. On art and illustration, see Bottigheimer, "Fairy Tale Illustrations" and "Iconographic Continuity"; Wilson, "Bluebeard's Forbidden Room" and *Margaret Atwood's Fairy-Tale Sexual Politics;* and Zipes, "Epilogue."
46. For just two of numerous examples, see Windling, "Ashes" and "Women."
47. See, for example, Conrad; Dégh, "Beauty"; Ganas; and Haase, "Television."

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